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grated and been removed by wind and water? It would seem that such is the case, but a great deal more study will have to be given to the ruins of the region before such a conclusion can be verified.

As a concluding sentence, the writer wishes to add that either an immense people lived here at one time or a small population a great number of years. The data seems to point to the latter conclusion.

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### Some Notes on the Lummi-Nooksack Indians, Washington.

ALBERT B. REAGAN.

In 1904 I was placed in charge of the Lummi reservation in the state of Washington. -Below are some of the observations I made while in charge of that reservation and its Indians.

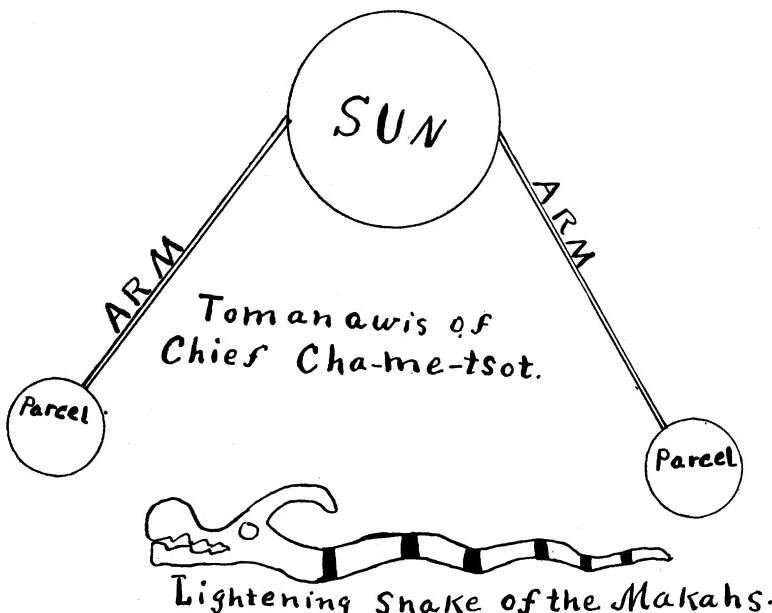
The Lummi Indians occupy the Lummi peninsula, facing Georgian bay and Hale's pass, about twenty miles south of the British Columbia line, just across Bellingham bay from the city of Bellingham, Wash. The Lummis are now mostly half-breeds. They number about 375. The full-bloods are nearly all old people. These are much diseased. Practically all of them have the sore-eye disease called trachoma (?), and many of them have it in such a virulent stage that they have become blind. These Indians are fishing Indians, but also farm on their allotments. Their principal fishing season is August and September. The fish caught are salmon and halibut. These they dry for themselves or sell to the canneries. They now dry their fish in a fish house, but in the old times they would cut the fish into strips or halves and place same on a puncheon slab and prop this up before the fire. In the old times they made flour from fern roots. They also made salmon egg cheese. They put salmon eggs in a hair-seal pouch, and this they hung up in their smokehouse to dry and be smoked by the smokehouse fires till cured to the Indians' taste. A white man probably would not have relished it.

The tribe as known to-day is made up of the Lummi, Snohomish, Nooksack and British Columbia Indians. They belong to the Salishan linguistic stock and now all speak the Lummi branch of that language. The Chinook jargon is also used extensively. The young people all speak English well.

Besides being fishermen, each Indian has an allotment on the reservation. On these they are now doing quite extensive farming, which is well done, and in 1904 their houses were often better than those of their white neighbors, though sometimes not kept quite so neat and clean. In fact, they have advanced nearly to our standard, many even taking daily papers.

In the old times these Indians practiced all the ceremonies known to their linguistic group. They waged war for the sole purpose of capturing slaves. Moreover, they had grades or castes, in a sense, among them. There were chieftain stock, common people, and slaves. Furthermore, the results of the hunting and fishing trips were portioned out among the participants by the leading chief according to the standing of each person. For instance, the chief always got the choice part of the whale. This consisted of the saddle and other special parts. The base people received the red meat, but little or no blubber. These people flattened their babies' foreheads so that a modern hat fits them better crosswise than the way a white man would wear it. They had puberty customs and mortuary dances, and had many dance lodges and secret

orders. They believed in the supreme human power of the medicine man, and slashed themselves with knives and thrust their arms through with elk' bones and arrows and drank their own blood in their frenzied medicine dances and medicine ceremonies. They had give-away (potlatch) feasts, at which the man who gave the most things away and gave away all he had was the rich man, the "big" man of the tribe. They also wore token effigies suspended from their neck beads, and carved or painted their special visions or dreams (called in Chinook, *tomanawis*) in conspicuous places in their "plank" houses, usually on totem poles; as a mark of good luck or a guide in their lives.



These people also had large give-away feast (potlatch) halls, large enough to accommodate from 500 to 700 people. These halls were also dance-feast halls and lodge ceremony rooms. Once when at the "portage" on their reservation I visited the ruins of one of these halls. A row of column posts marked the site. The posts were about two feet in diameter. Nothing else of the great hall was left but a ridge of earth that marked the outer boundaries of the building when intact. On examining the columns I found that each post had a carving on it facing the inside of the hall, and that the carvings were similar. I give herewith a reproduction of these drawings. I also inquired among the Indians for an explanation of this totem *tomanawis*, and the following was given me by William McClusky, the Indian judge of the reservation:

"Chief Cha-we-tsot once owned the *potlatch* house at the portage. The drawings on the totem posts there are his *tomanawis*. The sun, carrying a parcel of valuable in each hand, came to him in a dream and said: 'Your storehouses (trunks) will always be full. You will therefore give two more feasts than the average chief. Custom had established the rule that the ordinary chief should give three feasts in a lifetime; that is, feasts of the

*potlatch* type. So Chief Cha-we-tsot built the *potlatch* house and carved his *tomanavis* on its totem posts. He then gave five feasts, two more than the average, as the sun in the vision had commanded him."

Further notes obtained on these Indians are as follows:

#### SOCIOLOGY.

The "caste" system has been mentioned. These people were divided into the usual threefold divisions of chieftain stock, notables, and base people (the latter often being the descendants of slaves), as is usually found among the coast Indians. The office of the chief was hereditary, though the people held the power to depose an undesirable, undeserving chief and elect another in his place. The chief was also a sort of father and high priest to his tribe. Now that the Lummi are Catholics, this person leads the services in the church on Sundays when the regular priest cannot be present. At these times the Indians pass around in the church from left to right, while they sing and pray a few minutes in Indian before each of the passion pictures, the altar, and the images of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Then they quietly leave the church, usually to partake of a picnic dinner. A deposed chief would usually be superseded by a relative, so that the chieftaincy generally remained in the caste or family of the chief. Neglect of the material welfare of the tribe was thought the greatest offense that any chief could commit. A vote of the chief men and elders of the tribe would vote a chief out for cause and appoint his successor.

The tribe originally had several secret societies, each of which had its own peculiar dance. They also had fish-season dances and a feast dance of the first fruits.

Some of the Indians had more than one wife, the number being governed, in part at least, by his ability to support them.

The chieftain stock of this tribe also had slaves. These were captives taken in warfare or in raids on distant settlements.

#### HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES.

I was told that the houses of the Lummi in the old times were the long ceremonial slab houses built in rectangular order like their fish houses at Fish Point are now built, except that the fish houses are made of modern material. The communal houses were semiflat roofed, the roofing being of puncheon planks and sloping one way. In the old times the Indians lived in these communal houses for protection.

The Lummi made blankets from split roots of young cedar and from young spruce roots. They also made ropes from twisted sinew and from twisted spruce roots. They had wooden spoons, ladles, platters and dishes, all usually of large size. I also saw several horn spoons. I helped collect curios for the Commercial Club at Everett, Wash., used in the exhibit at Portland, Ore., for the Lewis and Clark exposition. Among the curios collected was a large cedar trough eight or ten feet long and three feet wide. This was used in the preparation of soups and stews, usually at feast times. The eatables were prepared for cooking and placed in the trough, and then heated stones were thrown into it to effect the cooking process. Mats were then placed over the trough to keep the steam in and to hurry the cooking. Other curios were a very large wooden ladle and a maple-wood dish three feet long by one and one-half feet wide.

## DRESS.

In the old times the dress of the men consisted of shirt and blanket made of buckskin or pounded inner bark shreds of the cedar tree. A deerskin or bearskin overblanket was also worn when fishing in wet weather. Robes were made of woven dog's hair and from prepared bark or flags. Blankets were woven from the down of birds or strips of rabbit skin, the warp being made of strips of shredded cedar bark. A conical hat woven from spruce roots was also worn. This hat was woven so compactly as to exclude the water. The dress of the women in the old times was a subblanket and a cinchure of fringed bark reaching from the waist to the knees. The Lummi belle wore ear pendants and a robelike shawl of wovenwork and ocean shells and painted her face and the parting of her hair with whale oil and mineral paint. Some of the Indians wore moccasins. Turbanlike cedar headwear was occasionally worn.

## THE MEDICINE FRATERNITY.

The medicine man was a powerful personage, especially the witch doctor (*tomanawis* man, to use the Chinook jargon). They had three kinds of doctors, but the witch kind is the only one I learned much about. The witch type consists of men and women, and these were often the leading persons in the secret societies. They would "cure or kill" people with their witch power, as they wished. Hence their good will was sought lest they should do injury with their *tomanawis*. These were the doctors called when a person was "spirit sick." Most sickness among the coast Indians is believed to be caused by one's spirit temporarily leaving the body, and should it not be brought back the person will die. The shamanistic medicine man had the power to restore this lost soul, provided he could overtake it in spirit before it crossed a certain river in the land of the dead. Sickness might also be caused by a magic spell or by the bad witch power of some medicine man. This also the good medicine man could relieve in the same manner as ordinary sickness.

One of the old men told me about his journey into the land of the dead after a fleeing soul. He said he went into a trance state, and in spirit followed the soul on its journey to the "land after breath is left the body." "The spirit of a person," he said, "looked just like a person, only very small." The spirit he was after was in the possession of the bad spirit of a very bad medicine man. The aged sire continued:

"This spirit was running with the sick one's spirit. The road we were on was crooked and stony. As we ran I noticed that the trees along the wayside were mere bushes. The salmonberry bushes (*Rubus spectabilis*) were only about six inches high and the berries were so small I could hardly see them. The salal (*Gaultheria*), thimbleberry (*Rubus odoratus*) and the crowberries were also very small. The strawberries were very tiny things and the ferns of the prairie were only two fingers high. People were gathering the berries and fern roots. You know, people make bread from fern roots. The people I saw gathering the berries were not a finger-length high, and their talking was like the noise of a grasshopper or cricket. As I followed the fleeing soul farther I came to a little stream. There the people were fishing. They had the stockade fish trap in operation. They were catching it full of what they called fish; but I examined the so-called fish and found them to be knots of weed. I also passed by the ocean beach in that land of the dead, and as I came to it I heard the people shouting: 'A whale! a whale! a whale has been killed and is being towed ashore!' Being an old whale hunter myself, I paused

a moment to see their whale; and lo! their so-called whale was a large fir log, but the people were cutting it up and carrying off the pieces. But on I ran. I came to the fatal river before me. I tried to seize the soul of my patient; but the evil *tomanawis* witch leaped with it across the turbulent waters and a piteous groan told me I was too late. When I came out of the trance the patient was dead.

"At another time I passed over the river of the dead, and there I saw the reverse of what was on the first side of the river. The people were all large, strong and happy. The trees were all large and the berries were all larger than I have ever seen here. All the bushes were heavily loaded with fruit. There was also plenty of game and fern-root bread, and there were feasts and dances every day in that happy land. At this time I overtook a fleeing soul and brought it back, and by a pouring, stroking process I put it back in its body form again and the person is still living.

"At the times we are going after fleeing souls to restore them to sick persons, we go apart by ourselves, crouch down and cover ourselves with a mat and permit ourselves to go into the trance state. Our souls will then leave our bodies and go in search of those of the sick ones."

The medicine men were doers of tricks and mysterious performances. Some could handle fire, dance upon hot stones and place hot coals in their mouths, apparently without being burned. Some of them could also drink five gallons of whale oil at one time, or otherwise mysteriously dispose of it. Tricks and slight-of-hand performances as well as hypnotism were used to keep the people under their power.

Hypnotic contests between medicine men were ordinary scenes at the secret lodge dances. One medicine man would challenge another to exhibit his "medicine" powers; and the one who would outdo—that is, hypnotize—the other would receive the applause of the spectators, and henceforth the medical practice of that community or village would be his. When the white doctors came in contact with the Indians the medicine men would also challenge them to exhibit their powers.<sup>1</sup>

1. I once met an old doctor who had doctor'd the Lummi in the early days. He said that once when he was called to an Indian house to wait on a sick Indian he noticed that the house was full of Indians, and among them was the leading shaman of the tribe. No sooner had he entered the house than the old medicine man arose and accosted him: "Could the white medicine man give an example of his power?" He then began a tirade of abuse against the physician and announced that the proof of the soup was in the eating, and that they must fight in doctor *tomanawis* style to see which doctor had the patient.

"I saw at once," said the white physician, "that I was in for big trouble unless I used strategy. But I had one big advantage. I knew the Indian's *tomanawis* methods, but he did not know how the white man philosophized. At once I gathered all the Indians around me and made a speech agreeing that the Indian doctor and I should each use his *tomanawis* on the other and the one who possessed the greater power should doctor the sick man and should not be molested by the other.

"The Indians understood the proposition and seemed pleased and grunted their satisfaction, with the exception of the Indian doctor. I saw at once that he was scared; he was afraid my *tomanawis* would kill him. To reassure the medicine man, who was a big, strapping Indian, I offered to let him use his *tomanawis* first. With the Indians gathered around us in a big circle, I wrapped my coat and overcoat closely around me, and, muffing my head, lay down and told the medicine man to go ahead. He at once proceeded, going through incantations and hokus-pokus lingo over me. After I had lain there a long while I sat up and told the Indians that the *tomanawis* of evil with which the Indian had tried to kill me had never bothered me in the least.

"I then demanded that the Indian take my *tomanawis*. The fellow was well-nigh scared to death, but I insisted, and the Indians were with me. I fixed up the worst dose you ever heard of, making about a spoonful of an emetic, a physic and an anodyne. He backed off and tried to avoid taking the dose, but I made him take it. For hours he was the sickest man I ever heard of. The Indians expected him to die, but I told them that my *tomanawis* would make him very sick, but that he would be well by the next sunrise. Then I doctored the sick man who had sent for me.

"The next day the medicine man recovered according to my prediction, and in a few days the patient also convalesced. The medicine man had found a *tomanawis* stronger than his own; and his reputation was thenceforth ruined among the Indians."

## BIRTH CEREMONIES.

In delivering children the Indian women require but little assistance, and they are seldom confined to their houses more than a couple of hours, or possibly a day, after delivery. The birth of twins in the old times was supposed to have some evil portent, and often the children were put out of the way.<sup>2</sup>

In the old times it was the desire of the parents to have their newborn get the blessings of the "powers." It was therefore the desire that the chief medicine people of the mother's totem brotherhood be present at the time of the birth or soon afterwards to perform and dance over the child and pray over it, to secure for it the protection of all the good spirits. A person thus performed over was made a person of social rank among the notabilities of the tribe. The ceremonies closed with an elaborate feast, and is still held as a birth ceremony among these peoples. This feast was held as soon as the mother was well enough to help prepare it and to attend the ceremonies. At this feast-dance the child's ears were pierced and pads and bands were placed on its forehead to give it the flathead shape. The ears were pierced by means of pointed pieces of pitch pine; the piercing pieces were left in the hole to prevent it from closing. This feast was closed by a give-away service (*potlatch*), at which the parents often gave away all the property they possessed as "pay" for the people attending and taking part in the ceremonies.

It might be added here that as the child grew up he was admitted into each of the different orders (secret societies) of the tribe in an elaborate feast ceremony as fast as his parents could accumulate wealth to furnish the *potlatch*.

## PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

While I was in charge of the Lummi reservation one of the school girls did not come to school. I asked the police to get her. He then told me the girl had had her first menses and was looking for her "guiding" spirit, and that she would be back in school in a few days. He then related to me some of the things about their puberty customs and ceremonies. He said that when the puberty period came to a boy or girl he or she went off alone to some secluded place for four or more days and fasted and prayed and exercised their bodies till in a dream vision their "guiding" spirit appeared unto them. At this time the boys also bathed in the ocean water in the early morning, and then just as the sun was rising they dried themselves by rubbing their bodies with the brush of a certain tree, always keeping the cut-off end of the brush pointing toward the rising sun. At night they must also go to the graveyard and tie old bones and human skulls together and drag same around after them by the hour to make themselves brave.

Besides being in seclusion, the girl was compelled to abstain from food of any kind the first two days of her staying apart by herself. Then she might eat a little dried salmon, but no hot or fresh foods—fresh meats, roots, or sprouts (greens).

The girl in question spent her spare moments knitting while she was in seclusion. On the fourth day she painted her face, and in company with several medicine people walked about the village. Later in the day these

2. A case is reported in which an Indian woman gave birth to twins on a channel boat, whereupon she immediately threw them overboard.

same medicine people danced around her and went through various contorting ceremonies, each holding a different kind of fish in hand. Then when her period of seclusion was over they took her to a small stream of water that emptied into the swamp and had her bathe and undergo ceremonial cleansing. I asked my informant why it was necessary to go so far to the little stream when the big Nooksack ran so close. To this he replied that the Nooksack was a salmon stream, and should a woman bathe in a salmon stream at such a time the fish would shun the stream thereafter. The puberty period of seclusion of both boys and girls was followed by a dance and give-away feast, and thereafter the girl was considered marriageable.

## MYTHOLOGY—MT. BAKER.

I obtained but one myth from these people. One day it thundered, the noise coming from a cumulus cloud southeast of us, toward the mountains from Lummi. The Indian with whom I was talking at the time said, "Do you hear the thunderbird?" I did not understand what he meant and asked him to tell me about the thunderbird and the thunder noise we had heard. He said:

"You see, it hardly ever thunders here; but yonder in the mountains it quite often thunders. The thunder is caused by a great bird. You have seen the fish hawk catch a fish. Well, the thunderbird is many hundreds of times larger than a fish hawk. It is so large that it can carry a large whale in its talons from the ocean to its nest. The feathers of its wing tips are as long as a canoe paddle. This huge bird has its home yonder on Mt. Baker, where you see the clouds piling up now. Whenever this bird comes from its nest and flies about the mountain top it thunders and lightnings, and even when it is disturbed in its nest it makes the thunder noise by its moving about even there. Furthermore, when greatly disturbed or when in search of food it flies far from its mountain home, far out over this place. The flapping of its wings at these times causes the distressful, destructive winds and the furious storms. The lightning is caused by the quick opening and shutting of its powerfully bright, snappy eyes and the thunder noise by the rapid flapping of its monstrous wings.<sup>3</sup>

"This bird likes fire, and if it cannot find any it will send a streak of flame from its angry eye and strike something and start a fire. It is dangerous at these times, for the bolt of fire thus hurled will kill anything it strikes. To appease the wrath of the enraged bird we make a fire and the most possible amount of smoke in our houses as soon as we hear the thunder noise in the clouds."

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

The archæological remains found here are middens and mounds. The middens are of two classes—ancient and modern.

The Lummi peninsula was an island until recent times. The delta deposits of the Nooksack and Red or Lummi rivers were filled in against this island (of glacial material) by these rivers till it is now mainland. These deposits are more than thirty feet thick, as is shown by the finding of logs at a depth of thirty feet at several places in the delta area. While this delta area was still covered with ocean water, Indians lived at several places on the glacial island adjacent to this now filled-in section. These Indians were fishing Indians, the same as the Indians now occupying the region. They lived on what was once the water front, as they were a canoe-using people and consequently

3. The Makah Indians have the same myth, except that the lightning is caused by lightning snakes darting out from under the great bird's breast at intervals as it flies through the sky.

would not have their villages far from water. They were clam-eating Indians, and clam and mussel shells constitute the principal middens marking their village sites. One midden heap occurs about one and one-half miles northwest of Fish Point; another on the west side of the peninsula, on the west side of what was then an island, about due west of the last-named midden heap; another occupies about the north point of the then island. These middens are covered over with from a foot to three feet of sand and loam, and over them were growing trees that must have been 500 years old when first seen by white men. This would make the middens quite ancient, if the rate of delta deposit was as slow formerly as now—probably 1,500 years old. Similar middens were found about a mile south of Fish point, also on the southwestern point of the peninsula, and at another point on the east coast line about half way between the portage and Fish Point.

A group of middens were also observed on the north shore contact line of the glacial deposit area north of Hale's pass, but these were not covered with earth and had the appearance of having been made in the last 150 years.

The village site of 1880 was mostly destroyed by encroachments of the Nooksack river, but the islands (practically the only remaining part of the village) shows three occupations, but none so old as the middens described above. There is a series of shells covered by about two feet of earth. On top of these is another series of middens, probably a foot in thickness. These are characteristic, because the top layer contains Hudson bay trade beads. The surface middens are those of the village abandoned in 1880.

More ancient middens were found farther inland in the middle Nooksack valley and at the foot of the Sumas mountains and on northeastward into Canadian territory. Some of the midden remains are very large. They are now twenty miles inland and must have been thrown from the Indian kitchen when Georgian bay had its eastern shore at the very foot of the Sumas mountains. Judging from the appearance of the country and the geological data one can gather concerning this region, these middens must be at least 2,000 years old.

The mounds divide themselves into two groups—burial mounds and oven mounds.

The mounds which I have taken for burial mounds are usually of large size, varying from three to twenty feet in diameter. I did not examine any of these mounds, as most of them were seen when I was making a geological examination of the region, and the time just then would not permit me to do excavation work.

The oven mounds are scattered throughout the region and northward to the Frazer river country. These were of three types—pit mounds, stone-inclosed mounds, and sand and clay mounds.

The pit mounds on examination showed that a pit had been dug in the ground and that a fire had been built in it, so that a bed of an inch or more of charcoal formed the bottom layer of the pit. The stone-inclosed mounds had the stone inclosure inside the mounds where the outer dirt had been removed by wind and water. From all appearances, the inclosure of stone in rectangular form was laid out on the ground and a fire kindled in the inclosure, as a layer of charcoal formed a stratum within the rock inclosure. The sand and clay mounds also showed a charcoal stratum in each.

These mounds were usually large, from three to sixteen feet in diameter. They were so numerous that they attracted my attention and I went to excavating them. I was of the opinion at first that they were burial mounds, though I knew that the present Indians of the region did not bury their dead in that manner when first met by the white man. My examination, however, caused me to form the conclusion that they are all oven mounds.

I found clamshells—a few only—in some of the mounds. Furthermore, on further investigation and observation I even found the Indians of the region baking claims in just such mounds. I also found an Indian and his wife baking kammas (*Scilla fraseri*) bulbs in a sand mound. I have even helped eat kammas baked in that way. These finds led me to inquire into the method of preparing food by the oven process by the Indians now occupying this and adjacent regions.

I found that in the old times, on big feast occasions, the women would go out and collect great quantities of clams and other shellfish. These they would take to the feasting place. A pit was usually dug to hold the clams, and dug in size in proportion to the clams secured. A large pile of wood was heaped up over the pit and ignited, and when it had burned down to the charcoal state, thick, wet rushes or wet boughs were placed hurriedly over the heated mass and the clams poured in a heap over this. More wet rushes or boughs were placed over this, and a foot or more earth was placed over the entire heap, thus making a large mound.

Often, instead of a pit to hold the clams, a layer of stone was placed on the ground, and occasionally not even that was used. Kammas was prepared in the same manner as the clams, except that just before the last dirt was put on the mound quite a quantity of water was poured on the kammas to make them steam. The mounds, after being closed over with earth, were left to let the cooking process proceed for from twelve to twenty-four hours. Then the earth was removed from the top of the mound and the prepared food taken out. A mound with a pit in the top would mark the site of this bake. The winds would fill this pit with sand and earth and a round mound would be the result.

In cooking for a single family, of course, a smaller mound would be used. For the big feasts a whole wagonload of kammas would be baked at a time. The cooking of the kammas, no doubt, accounts for the inland mounds. No doubt, the Indians who occupied the region in the long-ago prepared food in the same manner as do the present aborigines.

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### **Flood Myth of the Bois Fort Chippewas.**

ALBERT B. REAGAN.

Manabush is the creator god of our people (the Bois Fort Chippewas). Soon after his birth his parents were both killed by a clan of sea lions. After their death he lived with his grandmother till he became of age. He then decided to go out and avenge the death of his parents. The sea monsters who had killed them lived on an island. This was first surrounded by water for a short distance. Then for a space of about a mile and a half there was a circular band area of floating pitchlike ice, across which a canoe could not venture without certainly getting stuck in the pitch, and consequently being